Te Kawa o te Marae

A Guide to Marae

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Introduction

More and more New Zealanders – unfamiliar with Maori customs, protocols and values – are participating in marae visits which have been set up specifically to provide an opportunity for them to experience this aspect of Maori life.

Generally, these visits are arranged for common interest groups such as school groups, study groups or work groups. As members of a group who all share the same concerns arising from unfamiliarity, individuals feel a security in numbers and gain confidence in knowing that all share the same fears.

The purpose of this booklet is to familiarise the *tauhou* (stranger) with aspects of a marae and to give guidelines that could assist with a marae visit. It is a guide only. Fuller understanding comes from participation.

What is a Marae?

Traditionally, the '*marae*' was the area immediately in front of the *whare nui* – the main meeting house. The more specific term for this area is '*marae atea*' or in its fullest term '*Te marae atea o Tu matauenga*'. It was the area within the Maori village complex where, traditionally, visitors were welcomed.

The term 'marae' however, is now being used to describe the total complex of buildings and courtyard. It is also being applied to any area where visitors are received according to the customs and protocols of the Maori. The marae atea remains that space between host and visitor that exists while formalities of welcome are being conducted.

To the Maori, the marae are places which provide facilities that enable the continuation and fulfillment of their own way of life within the total structure of Maori terms and values. It is a place where Maori people may hold their *tangi* (funeral) and *hui* (assemblies). Thus the uniqueness of Maori customs and traditions are satisfied. On the marae the emotions of love, of sadness, of happiness and of celebration are expressed whether it be through oratory, through spiritual acknowledgement, through singing or through dancing. The occasion may be one of mourning for the dead, of the celebration of weddings, reunions or special occasions, or simply of providing a place to stay. Through these experiences and activities cultural identity and pride of heritage, which are part of being Maori, are reinforced.

The marae is central to maoritanga and to Maori cultural identity. It is here that oratory, language, values and social etiquette are given their fullest expression. It is the only area in our New Zealand way of life that endorses Maori values and traditions to their fullest. There is very good reason to rejoice in the opportunity to do things differently.

The marae has survived the impact of western civilisation. Indeed, many of the western cultures are recognising the value of the marae and the values and principles that underpin marae activities.

On the marae, *Maori tikanga* – values and philosophy – are reaffirmed. The marae is sacred to the living and the dead. People gather with the knowledge of the spiritual presence of those who have died. This presence gives comfort and protection; there is no fear. The dead are accorded respect in an appropriate, customary way. This is why *whakaeke marae* (going onto the marae) is done in a reverent manner.

The marae fosters identity, self respect, pride, dignity and social control. On the marae people are welcomed as guests. Very rarely are people refused admittance to a marae.

The marae is a place where the Pakeha can meet the Maori on Maori terms. It is the one place in New Zealand where Maori know that what they decide should be done, will be done. It is still their *turangawaewae* – their standing place.

The marae can be described in three parts – its physical make up, the people who service and use it and its spiritual ethos. The spiritual aspect permeates all of the areas of the marae.

The Physical Nature of the Marae

Structures

It is important to note that today, a marae can consist of a single building. As well, for the purposes of welcoming people, an area where the welcome is to take place in accordance with Maori custom, may be designated a marae for the duration of the *powhiri* (welcome).

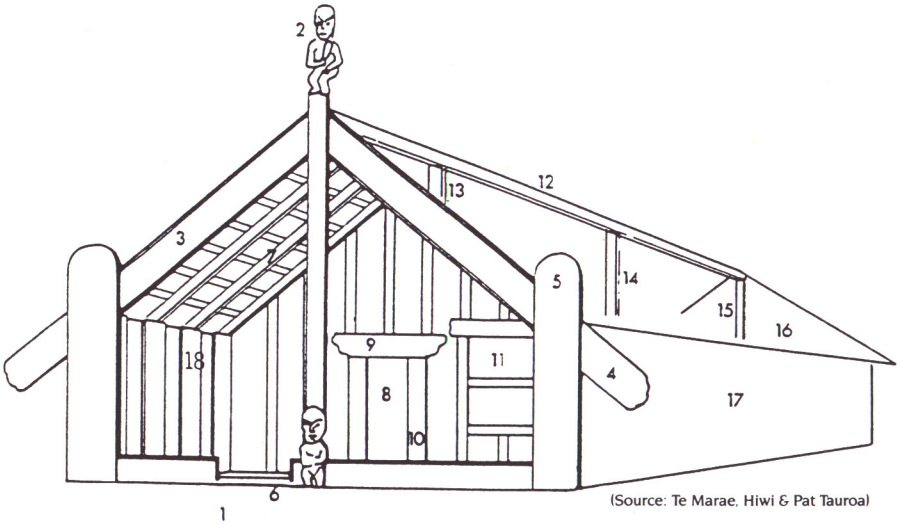
A marae complex could consist of :

The Whare Nui
(*The Main House*)

The whare nui is normally the major central building within the marae complex. It may be fully or partially carved and called the *whare whakairo* (carved house). Alternatively it may be called the *whare tipuna* (ancestral house), the *whare hui* (meeting house), or the *whare moe* or *whare puni* (sleeping house.)

All whare nui are named, usually, but not always, after an

Parts of the whare tipuna



(Source: Te Marae, Hiwi & Pat Tauroa)

1. Marae	Courtyard	10. Whakawae	Lintel support
2. Tekoteko	Carved figure	11. Matapihi	Window
3. Maihi	Bargeboards	12. Tahuhu	Ridgepole
4. Raparapa	Bargeboard extensions	13. Pou tahu	Centre front pillar
5. Amo	Bargeboard supports	14. Pou tokomanawa	Central pillar
6. Paepae	Speakers platform	15. Pou tuarongo	Centre back pillar
7. Roro, mahau	Front of house	16. Tuarongo	Back wall
8. Whatitoka	Doorway	17. Pakitara	Wall
9. Pare	Door lintel	18. Poupou	Carved panels

ancestor. The whare is structured to symbolically represent the *tipuna* (ancestor). The *tekoteko* (carved figure on the front roof top) represents the head of the ancestor. The *maihi* (bargeboards) with their *raparapa* (extensions) are the arms and hands which reach out to welcome and embrace people. The *amo* support the maihi in their ever welcoming stance.

Going into the whare, is likened to entering the body of the ancestor. The *tahuhu* (ridgepole) that runs the length of the house is the backbone which gives strength to the *iwi* (people); the *heke* (rafters) extending from the tahuhu are the ribs which enfold the people. The *poupou* (carved supports around the walls), normally represent ancestors or events in the tribe's history. Often these represent ancestors of other tribes thus allowing visitors to maintain their tribal identity and deepen their feelings of belonging. The poupou support the heke and serve as an extension of the tipuna and link to the people. The *pou tokomanawa* (the uprights) represent the link between Rangi, the sky father and Papatuanuku, the earth mother. They are also the *manawa*, the spiritual essence of the ancestor, There may be one, two or three pou which may be in the centre of the house or may be part of the rear or front walls.

Thus entering the house, is equivalent to entering into the bosom of the ancestor. It is considered that inside the house, *Rongo*, the god of peace, reigns. It is under the *korowai* (cloak) of Rongo, in an atmosphere of peace, that discussions, however heated they may become, will take place without physical abuse.

The Marae and Marae atea

All visitors must be welcomed formally onto the marae, whether they come for a a celebration, for a tangi or to do verbal battle in the discussion of a *take* (issue). It is the place where people can come together to share with and acknowledge each other. Each marae has its *kawa* (procedure). The kawa of each marae quite often varies from tribe to tribe. It is preferable that the visitor is aware of the kawa of the particular marae to be visited, before going onto that marae. Marae within specific tribal areas generally follow a similar kawa. However, there are marae in some tribal areas, particularly in the urban situation, which follow the kawa of the tribal group of the people who maintain the marae.

The marae atea is the sacred space that exists between tangata whenua and manuhiri during the powhiri – the ceremony of welcome. It remains sacred until the tangata whenua are satisfied that the intentions of the manuhiri are

honourable, that their own welcome processes have been fulfilled, and they invite the manuhiri to cross that space, thus rendering the marae atea *noa* (common).

The marae atea is the domain of *Tu matauenga* – Tu the war god – and as such it is the area where war-like confrontations can take place. On entering the whare, one is expected to shake the dust of Tu off one's feet and leave any desire for physical aggression outside.

The Whare Kai
(*Eating House*)

This is the building or area where food is prepared, served and consumed. The whare kai may be a separate building with its own name, or simply an area separate from the area where the other aspects of marae activity take place. The restrictions of *tapu* (sacredness) that applies to food will largely depend on the people of the marae. While food is rarely taken into the whare tipuna (particularly when it is being used as a whare moe), meetings may be held in the whare kai, and, when necessary, certain areas of the whare kai may be used for sleeping accommodation. However this is usually restricted to use by the *ringa wera* (workers) only.

Other Facilities

Whare Karakia : Some marae have whare karakia (church building) as part of the marae complex. While these are used for regular church services, karakia and the acknowledgement of a spiritual dimension is not confined to these buildings. Karakia can, and does, take place where ever people have gathered together, even though there may be a whare karakia as part of the marae.

Urupa : There may be an urupa (burial ground) associated with the marae. Just as *tikanga* (protocols) apply to the marae, the urupa also has associated sanction and expected behaviour. A major sanction is that food, including cigarettes, is not taken into or consumed in the urupa. For many, belongings such as handbags containing cigarettes or money, are left outside the urupa boundary. Hands should be washed immediately on leaving the urupa. For this purpose, usually there is a tap or container of water, just outside the urupa gate. In the absence of water, dry bread or the moss of posts may be used to 'wash' the hands.

Flagpoles : Some marae have memorial stones, flagpoles or special bell houses within the complex.

Shelters : It is becoming more and more common now to find 'lean to' type shelters built to the side of the whare nui. These are build specifically to afford shelter for the *paepae* (speakers

platform) who often need to maintain their post for long periods of time, through rain and the full heat of the summer sun. Similar shelters for the manuhiri are not so common but are beginning to be provided.

Ablutions : Ablution blocks and toilets are an essential part of the marae complex. These are generally placed to the rear of the whare nui and whare kai. Some marae also have toilet facilities just outside the entrance to the marae as a convenience for manuhiri as they gather together prior to going onto the marae.

The Human Element of the Marae

The People

The people of the marae can be considered in two major groupings – the tangata whenua and the manuhiri.

The Tangata Whenua

Tangata whenua are the local people who, by genealogy and by association, claim the marae as their turangawaewae – their standing place or identity base. This turangawaewae gives them the right to belong, to determine *kawa* (protocols), to define roles on the marae and to be responsible for its *mana* (status). It also implies that they have responsibilities and obligations in extending hospitality to manuhiri. They will prepare the marae for visitors and generally do all they can to make hui a success and ensure that visitors are well looked after. Tangata whenua contribute to the food supplies, provide the ringa wera – the work force for the kitchen, dining room, meeting house and upkeep of the ground and marae facilities – and the paepae for welcoming visitors. Only when tangata whenua are ready will visitors be invited to come onto the marae.

Manuhiri

The manuhiri are the visitors to the marae. Manuhiri need not be only people of other tribes or marae. Tangata whenua can be welcomed as manuhiri to their own marae, particularly when they have been absent from the marae for a long period, or they are attending a tangi.

In a broad sense, visitors who do not belong to the marae that they are visiting, can respond to the term *manuhiri tuarangi* – visitors from afar. They follow the established kawa of the tangata whenua. This indicates respect for the people and for the *wairua* (the spirit) of the marae.

It is often said that once the formality of the welcome has been completed, the manuhiri then become tangata whenua. It needs to be stressed that this status applies only for the duration of that visit. In basic terms, it means that visitors can then join the tangata whenua to welcome other manuhiri, to help the ringa wera and to uphold the mana of the marae. One does not automatically have the right to determine kawa, or to define roles after only one marae visit. That is a privilege that has to be earned by association. However, having once been welcomed onto a particular marae, a person is no longer a *waewae tapu* (first time onto a particular marae). They then, generally, do not need to wait for a formal welcome next time that marae is being visited – unless there is a tangi. With this exception, it is possible then, if one lives in the locality of a marae, to go to that marae and help tangata whenua prepare for a hui, or help with the work on that marae.

People's Roles

An essential part of the marae institution is the recognition and acceptance of the roles of people. Each person has an important and integral part to play in the functioning of the marae.

Nga Kaumatua, Nga Kuia
(*Elders*)

There is no magical age when one automatically joins the ranks of kaumatua or kuia. It is a status most often extended to an individual by the people. This standing extends to the individual the right and privilege to speak and act on behalf of the people of the marae. For example, when there is a *powhiri* (welcome) the kaumatua may *whaikorero* – extend the speech of welcome; the kuia may *karanga* – call the people to come onto the marae. On marae when there are a number of older people, a person may have to wait many years before having the right to speak on the marae. Yet, he or she may lead as kaumatua or kuia if they are part of an *ope* (group) from their marae or family, visiting another marae. Conversely, when there are very few older tangata whenua belonging to a marae, a person who is quite young could acquire the duties of kuia or kaumatua.

To be accorded the status of an elder is to be given mana by the people – mana which acknowledges a degree of age, an accumulation of wisdom and wise counsel and an expertise and guidance in the things of the marae.

These could be the skills of *whaikorero* (oratory), of *karanga* (calling), of *karakia* (chants and incantations) or other *taonga tuku iho* (treasures handed down by the ancestors).

It is generally the kaumatua and kuia who 'front' the marae. They are the ones who sit on the paepae during the process of welcoming manuhiri. They give the marae mana and warmth. They guide the young in learning the tikanga (protocols) and *whakapapa* (genealogy) of the marae; it is they who pass on the teachings of the tipuna (ancestors).

Nga Ringa Wera
(*The Workers*)

Ringa wera literally means 'hot hands'. These are the cooks and carers of the physical well-being of the marae and its manuhiri. Like the kaumatua, they also hold the mana of the marae in their hands. Within the responsibilities of the ringa wera are role divisions which overlap and could vary from one marae to another. Experienced ringa wera are aware of the tasks that need to be performed. Once a task is taken on there is an expectation to maintain responsibility for it, for the duration of the hui. These tasks include the ordering of food, its preparation, cooking and serving, clearing tables, washing and

drying dishes, setting out mattresses, tidying and cleaning the whare moe, the ablution blocks and the grounds during a hui and cleaning up after the manuhiri has gone. They, with other tangata whenua are responsible for cutting lawns and hedges, weeding gardens, for maintaining marae equipment such as mattresses, linen, kitchen utensils, cooking facilities and keeping the buildings in good order and repair at all times. If there are problems involving the marae, they are responsible for finding solutions.

Nga Tamariki
(*The Children*)

Children are an accepted, natural and very essential part of the marae.

Young children have considerable freedom on the marae. However, they are the responsibility of all adults. When there is a welcome in progress, they are kept off the marae atea. If they stray onto this area, it is up to the adult closest to them, to see that they are removed. If they become excessively boisterous during mihi or whaikorero, then they are restrained by those closest at hand. It is by being restrained and chastised at the time, that they begin to learn what they should and should not do on the marae.

Teenagers also learn by experience and observation. They may join in any group they wish, indeed they are expected to participate in the activities of the marae. They are the apprentices of the ringa wera and assist by fetching and carrying, by setting and clearing tables, by serving meals, by pouring tea, by washing and drying dishes and by looking after the younger children. They also learn by listening to the speeches of the elders and by being around them during whaikorero and mihimihi.

Learning the work of the marae begins at childhood, progressing through the stages of marae maintenance by being ringa wera, until reaching the age of being kuia and kaumatua. Each stage has its associated mana. Each role is important for it contributes to the mana of the marae and its people. To have missed any one stage of this process is to omit a basic element of one's learning.

The Spiritual Values of the Marae

There are no signs explaining what the marae concept is all about. The values and philosophy of the people will be experienced and 'felt' rather than seen. These values are similar to those of many other cultures; they are not exclusively Maori. However, they are openly expressed on the marae. The following is a brief outline of some aspects of Maori values that constitute the philosophy of the marae. Some are tangible, others intangible. All enable the Maori to interact with other people of other cultures, particularly the Pakeha. The chart presented could be divided into two sections, the top half representing the intangible elements and the bottom half the tangible ones. No component stands alone.

Turanga-waewae

Literally this means a place to stand, a foot stool indicating rights and obligations to a certain place. It is an identity that gives a person, through his genealogy or association, a right to say humbly, yet with confidence, 'I belong'. Turangawaewae confirms a home base, a papa kainga, a marae which gives the right to a person to speak as a tangata whenua within the concept of the tuakana/teina relationship. The obligation of turangawaewae extends to others the respect of listening to them.

Whanaunga-tanga

Whanaungatanga is the extended kinship ties. All those people who belong to a marae can trace their *whakapapa* (genealogy) to the marae and the ancestor from whom the people are descended. They have rights to stand and speak. They also have obligations to maintain the marae. The mana of the marae and the whanau is upheld by the quality of the performance of their obligations.

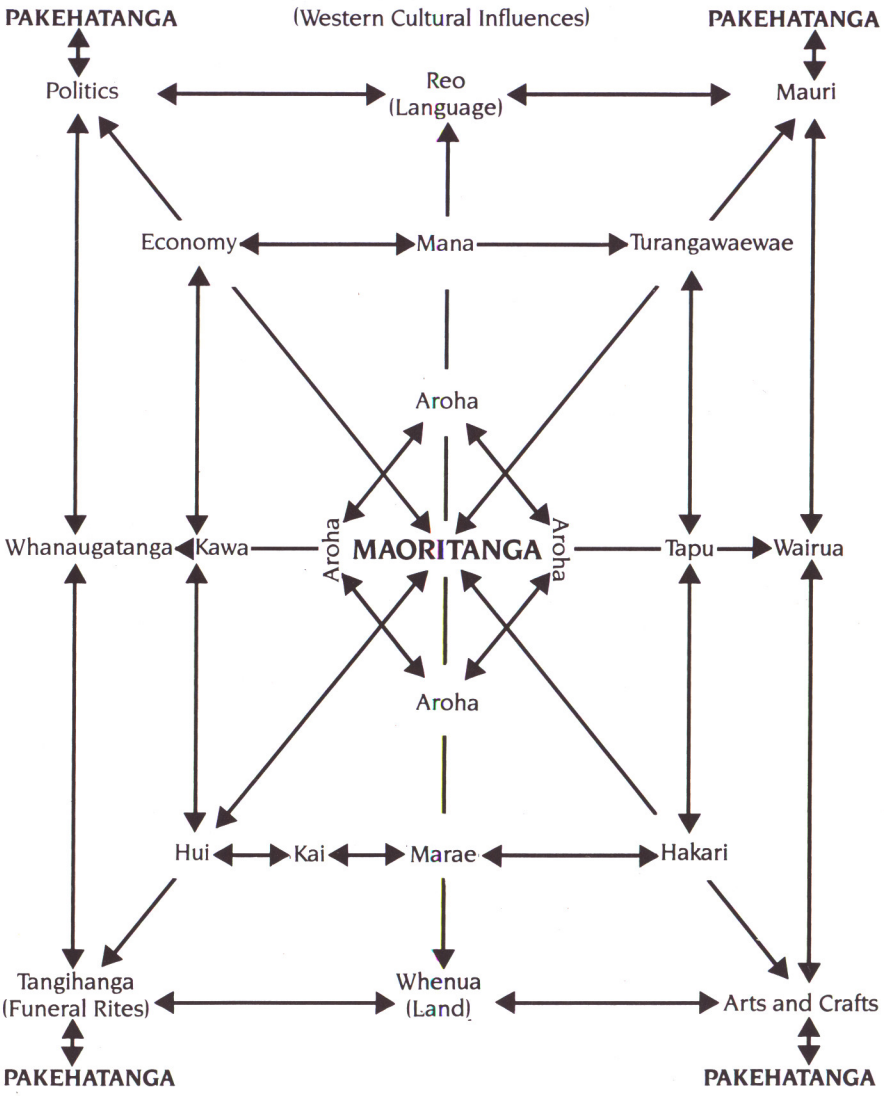
Manaakitanga

The relationship between people is one of caring and sharing, of helping one another as a family. The goal is to ensure that others have all that they need to ensure their comfort and well-being. Personal cost is often not a consideration in extending manaakitanga.

Aroha

As an extension of manaakitanga, aroha is the concept of love in its widest sense. It can mean respect, concern, hospitality and the process of giving. Every person is concerned for, and respects the rights of, others. Aroha is reflected in the way that the tangata whenua volunteer to provide hospitality, in the way that the manuhiri become part of the tangata whenua and share in the normal duties of the day and, more importantly, in the way that people relate to each other. The essential elements in interpersonal relationships are reflected through aroha, respect, friendship and caring.

Interaction of Maoritanga with Pakehatanga



(Source: Maoritanga in Practice, Hiwi Tauroa)

Wairua

Wairua is spirituality – not religion. While there is an important relationship between life and death, so is there also a crucial relationship between man and God – God being the force that is outside of, and beyond, man's humanness. Traditionally, and today, the Maori acknowledges that wholeness of life in which a spiritual force (God) is ever present. On the marae, the *karakia* (acknowledgement of a spiritual force, or prayer) is conducted in the morning and in the evening. Prayer is for blessing, guidance, care and protection in all things, for all people during the day and night. Karakia on the marae is ecumenical and any lay person who so wishes can conduct the service. It may be brief, or it may follow along the lines of a typical christian or other religious service.

Mauri

Mauri is defined as the life force, life essence or ethos which applies to animate and inanimate things. Each person or thing has a mauri. Thus there can be reference to the 'mauri of the marae', the 'mauri of the whaikorero' or the mauri of a person. The mauri of the marae is reflected in its life force and personality – or the feelings of warmth and aroha that emanates from it during a hui. A cold marae is said to have lost its mauri. When the values which are important to people are practised within the whole concept of marae, then the mauri is strong and vital.

Mana

Mana is the respect that is given to a person by others. It is not dependent on an accumulation of great deeds or on public acclamation. High academic qualifications will not automatically confer mana. Mana is the response of people to a person; it is the response to the personality and deeds of that individual. Therefore, on the marae, someone whose occupation is drain laying can have greater mana than a person who is an academic professor.

Whenua
(*Land*)

The whenua is not a commodity to be bought and sold. The land is Papatuanuku, the earth mother. It is to be cared for and passed on to the mokopuna, for it nurtures, provides continual sustenance, and is the future.

Te Reo
(*Maori Language*)

Maori language is valued by the Maori people. It is essential to their culture. It is not just a means of communication, but contains within its well known and often used phrases, the feelings and emotions of the people. Many who whaikorero, are unable to adequately express their feelings in another language. The chants, the tauparapara, the waiata, all have meanings that are difficult to capture adequately in English. The translation often loses the beauty and symbolism being

expressed by the speaker. For example, it is more meaningful to speak of the 'tupapaku' rather than the 'dead body'; for the tupapaku is more than just a dead body.

On a marae, the use of Maori by Pakeha speakers is appreciated. Much respect is accorded a person for having taken the time and effort to learn some basic Maori. The mana of the speech is enhanced, while the mana of the speaker is increased.

There are some marae where the tangata whenua ask that Maori be the only language spoken during the welcome process. This is not intended as a discourtesy or an insult to non-Maori speakers. The marae is the one place where Maori is the major language and it is felt that it is not too much to ask of others that they respect this one last area where Maori can take priority. Those Pakeha who do take offence to this could find it helpful to be reminded that they have entered the Maori domain. It is the only domain where Maori can dictate what will happen. To those who insist that if Maori people want them to understand, then a common language should be used, the Maori could answer that if Pakeha are upset the onus is on the Pakeha to learn the language. Once inside the whare, it is possible for non-Maori speakers to express their feelings in whatever language they wish to use. Greetings to people do not end on the marae atea. Acknowledgement of others takes place whenever a person wishes to speak.

Kawa (Marae Protocol)

It is important to state that this booklet contains general guidelines only. Each marae has its own kawa. Specific details often vary between tribal groups, and sometimes with marae within a tribal group. The kawa of a particular marae should be checked by those who will be leading a group of manuhiri.

Preparation

Going onto the marae is entering an encounter situation where challenges are met and issues debated; a situation of caring and sharing where people give of themselves for the mana of their marae.

It is advisable that visitors have some idea of the actual kawa of the marae that is being visited. Groups that have been organised specifically for a marae visit should have an orientation time prior to the event to familiarise people with the kawa, with expected behaviour standards and to learn some waiata.

Gathering Together

Manuhiri will gather together outside the entrance gate of the marae. During this time it is usual to great each other – all are manuhiri. At this time also, speakers who will reply to the mihi, will often be determined. If a koha is to be laid down, it will be given to the last speaker who will retain it in a pocket while he is speaking – never in his hand – until he is ready to place it on the marae.

When the manuhiri are ready to proceed onto the marae – at the appointed time for an arranged hui – they will gather together at the entrance to the marae, in view of the tangata whenua, to indicate they are ready. They must wait for the tangata whenua karanga (call). In most areas, the women and children will be flanked closely by the men. Those men who will speak will be to the front of the group. There are some tribal groups who will insist that kaumatua be in front to form a protection for their womenfolk; they then lead the group on.

Tangata whenua will have set out seats for the manuhiri, and for their own paepae, in front of the whare, if these are not permanent fixtures. They will then, themselves, gather together in front of, and generally just to one side of, the whare nui.

Wero
(*Challenge*)

If a wero is being issued, the leader or most honoured person in the manuhiri, will stand in front of the group. If this person is a woman, she will have a male person near her to pick up the challenge dart. The wero is the challenge to test the intentions of the manuhiri. There will be either one or three *taua* (challengers) or darts placed before the manuhiri.

Powhiri
(Welcome)

The powhiri is the act of welcoming manuhiri onto the marae. It is also the physical act of waving aside the spiritual element of the marae to allow manuhiri to proceed. This powhiri is the rhythmical motion of the hands in conjunction with a chant. Quite often – and particularly for a tangi – green twigs will be held in the hands of those performing the powhiri.

Karanga
(Call)

A woman from the tangata whenua will karanga (call) which is the indication to the manuhiri to move forward onto the marae. If the powhiri is being performed, the karanga is issued as a part of the powhiri. Normally there is a responding karanga from the manuhiri.

The karanga is a shrill, high-pitched call of welcome and acknowledgement. It acknowledges not only the manuhiri, but the spirits of those who have died. It is the first link between tangata whenua and manuhiri. The responding karanga from the manuhiri will generally indicate where the group is from, and sometimes, special people in the group.

Whakaeke Marae
(Going onto the Marae)

During the karanga, the tangata whenua will stand while the manuhiri move forward to the centre of the marae. Manuhiri will move quietly and with dignity and decorum – no smoking, no talking, no laughing, no gazing around. At a point about 20-30 metres in front of the whare – or when about level with the manuhiri seating – the manuhiri will pause. All people maintain a period of silence. At this time, it is helpful to recall the memory of a friend or family member who has died.

If the whaikorero is to take place inside the whare, the manuhiri move forward onto the porch, remove their shoes and enter the house. They will have been preceeded into the whare by the tangata whenua women, the last of whom will generally be the kai karanga who will indicate where they should sit. The tangata whenua men will follow the manuhiri in. In some situations, the only people outside the whare will be the women issuing the karanga, particularly if there is a tangi. The paepae will already have taken their place.

If the whaikorero will take place outside, there could be a call or other indication from the tangata whenua, to '*whakatata mai*' – draw closer. The manuhiri will then move to sit on the seats, with the speakers sitting in the front row of seats.

Whaikorero
(Oratory)

Tangata whenua will begin the whaikorero. There are two methods by which the whaikorero process takes place :

Tu mai, Tu atu or tau ututu

Speakers from tangata whenua and manuhiri will alternate,

beginning and ending with a tangata whenua speaker.

Paeke

All the tangata whenua speak and then all the manuhiri will speak. However, the very last speaker will again be from the tangata whenua.

The *mauri* (ethos) of the marae is held by each speaker as he speaks. Thus the tangata whenua needs to speak last to take back the mauri of the marae so that it remains with the tangata whenua and is not taken from the marae by manuhiri.

The last speaker for the manuhiri will generally place the koha on the marae at the conclusion of his mihi, immediately before returning to his seat. This is an indication to the tangata whenua that there will b no further manuhiri speakers. When the koha is laid, the tangata whenua will usually karanga the koha and it will be picked up and acknowledged.

Waiata
(*Song*)

After each speech, there could be a *waiata* (song) although, on occasions, *kaikorero* (speakers) will indicate that they will sing a waiata after all their kaikorero have spoken. Anyone wishing to stand and support the speaker by joining in the waiata may do so. Stand beside or behind the kaikorero, do not stand in front of him.

Hariru, Hongi, Whakanoa

The last tangata whenua speaker will generally invite the manuhiri to come forward and hariru and hongi. Most often, tangata whenua will indicate which way the manuhiri should proceed. Normally, the hariru will begin with those on the paepae and progress towards the whare.

To hariru is to shake hands. To hongi is to press noses. This may be just one press, long or short in duration, or two short presses. Sometimes, foreheads touch. Quite often, and more particularly at a tangi, those who have not seen each other for some time will tangi (weep) while they hongi. Sometimes the hongi will be followed by, or replaced by a kiss. If there is a large group, often there will be just a hariru (hand shake).

To cross the marae atea and make physical contact with the tangata whenua, renders the marae atea and the manuhiri noa – free from tapu or restriction. The process of whakanoa is an important conclusion to the welcome which becomes tapu from the first call by the tangata whenua.

Maori Tikanga (Customs)

Some tikanga warrant a fuller explanation. These explanations are brief but are given to assist understanding of the customs.

Kaikorero
(*Speaker*)

There are a number of rules which determine who can and cannot, or who should and should not, speak on the marae. These are not arbitrary rules made up on the spur of the moment to thwart individuals. They have been determined by the people over generations, and changes are made by the people to accommodate their own kawa and their own marae situation. The final sanction as to who speaks on a particular marae, rests with the tangata whenua of that marae. They have always had the right to refuse an individual the right to speak.

It is an honour to be given the right to speak on a marae. This is because a person speaks on behalf of others, not only for himself. He is the spokesman, and his performance enhances, or otherwise, the mana of the group which he represents. Maori people take the position of kaikorero very seriously. Some will positively refuse to speak, rather than risk bringing dishonour to themselves or their people. There are a number of reasons why people will not speak on the marae – or why women will not karanga. The reasons are based upon traditional values.

Within the tuakana/teina relationship, it is the tuakana who would be accorded the right to speak for the whanau. In this situation, normally an elder brother has precedence over a younger brother and a father over a son or an elder over a younger person. The tuakana standing can often be applied to the elder cousin of a particular family. If the tuakana gives the teina the right to speak, (or the right to karanga for women) it could mean that the right is given away for good, and can never be reclaimed.

On some marae, women are accorded the honour of speaking on behalf of their people. However, it needs to be stressed that, as with men kaikorero, not just any woman can get up and speak. While there are some areas where women can claim that right through descent, they can still be asked, by the people of a marae, not to speak. When women, who would not normally claim the right to speak, are accorded that honour by a marae, they will, most often, go to the porch of the whare and speak from there – from the shelter of the ancestor.

It should be noted also, that there is a difference between the formality of whaikorero on the marae, in the powhiri

situation, and that of *whakawhiti korero* (discussion) within the whare. In these latter situations, there are only a few areas who would not wish women to speak. Yet, even here, on certain occasions, women are welcome to enter into discussions.

Whaikorero Format (*Oratory*)

There is no set pattern for a whaikorero, although there are certain elements that are normally present. Not all of these elements are present all of the time. The following are brief examples of what could be used. It needs to be noted that a tangata whenua speaker would not normally greet the whare and that a manuhiri speaker would not bid his hosts welcome.

Tauparapara

A tauparapara is a chant or introductory expression that draws attention to the speaker and indicates that he wishes to speak. Traditional tauparapara set the mood of the speech. It attracts the attention of the listeners. e.g. Tihei, mauri ora – Behold, the sneeze of life or

Ka tangi te titi
The titi (mutton bird) calls
Ka tangi te kaka
The kaka calls
Ka tangi hoki ko au
And I call also
Tihei mauri ora
Behold, there is life

Mihi (Greetings)

To the house: The house represents the ancestor, and therefore is accorded respect. This is also due to it for it provides shelter for the people and is a place of peace.

Te whare e tu nei
The house that stands here
Tena koe
Greetings to you

To the marae: The marae is the land, the representative of Papatuanuku. It is from the earth, that man obtains his sustenance.

Te marae e takoto nei
The marae lying here
Tena koe
Greetings to you

If the mihi were being spoken in the house :

Te marae i waho
The marae that lies outside

Tena koe
Greetings to you

To the people: All people are important and are accorded respect.

Rau rangatira ma
The many respected people
Nga matua, whaea
Respected elders, parents
Nga hau e wha
People of the four winds
Te iwi e tau nei
All people gathered here
Tena koutou, tena koutou
Greetings, greetings,
Tena tatou katoa
Greetings to us all
Nga mihi nui ki a koutou
Extensive greetings to you
kua huihui mai nei
who have gathered together

Mihi ki te mate (To the dead) : The spirits of the dead are greeted. Family and friends who have died, are always remembered and are accorded respect. They are greeted, and farewelled -

Nga mate
The dead
O tena marae, o tena marae
Of each marae
Ratou kua wehe atu ki to po
Those who have departed this world
Haere, haere, haere
Farewell, farewell, farewell

Having acknowledged the dead, it is preferable for the speaker to place himself again amongst the living -

Te hunga mate
The dead
Ki te hunga mate
Is with the dead
Te hunga ora e.tau nei
The living here assembled
Tena tatou katoa
Greetings to us all

Te Take (The Reason) : Mention can be made of the reason for the gathering -

Ka nui te hari
there is much happiness
kua huihui tatou
that we have gathered
mo tenei take tino nui
for this important occasion

Koha
(*Gift*)

On most occasions the last manuhiri speaker will present the koha. This koha, in an envelope, is laid down in front of the manuhiri on the marae. A local person will pick it up, generally after a karanga, or chant of gratitude has been expressed.

A koha is an amount of money from the manuhiri indicating love and respect to the tangata whenua for their hospitality, or to a family to show them your support. It is used to offset such costs as accommodation, food, electricity, laundry expenses and breakages. Any additional amount remains with the marae for any further development the local people may wish to make.

Although most marae now indicate a set amount to cover costs when a 'marae experience' hui is being held, this normally covers essential costs only. It does not cover extra costs such as labour, marae maintenance and cleaning. Realistic, present day costs of food, accommodation and even a cup of coffee, should indicate the level of one's giving. Marae are no different from any other facility in the costs and overheads they must meet. Many groups have not appreciated these points and consequently local people have had to take from their own pockets to offset costs.

Manuhiri have an obligation to give a koha no matter how long they remain on the marae as visitors, even if it is for one or two hours. The mana of the manuhiri increases if the size of the koha is generous. This is not a new concept based on monetary values. Traditionally the manuhiri that arrived with large *rourou* (baskets of food) were accorded greater mana and made more welcome than those who arrived without. The rourou is now a paper envelope. Despite this, 'rourou' of food are often presented behind the scenes.

Kai
(*Meals*)

As soon as practical after the conclusion of the mihi, there will be an invitation to partake of a meal – even if this should be just a cup of tea. This is an important part of marae protocol and a visitor should partake of a meal no matter the amount

that is eaten. To refuse this hospitality is to reject the tangata whenua for it is in this sharing of food that the manuhiri become part of the marae family.

Poroporoaki
(Farewell)

Quite often, at the conclusion of a hui, people or groups will express their speeches of farewell and thanks to the tangata whenua in a poroporoaki. Sometimes there will be a special period set aside for poroporoaki, other times those who are leaving will simply express their thanks and farewells at an appropriate time. It is possible for manuhiri to give a further koha to the marae at this time. It is quite normal for a poroporoaki speech to be followed by a waiata, an action song or a haka. Manuhiri will always begin the poroporoaki. This is to allow the final speeches to come from the tangata whenua who will, once again, retain the mauri of the marae. The manuhiri had to wait until the tangata whenua were ready to welcome them on the marae. Now they must wait until the tangata whenua are ready to allow them to go. It is not unheard of for tangata whenua speakers to prolong their speeches as a means of delaying the departure of their manuhiri. In effect they lock the door, and manuhiri are not able to leave until it has been unlocked.

General Conduct on the Marae

- The area immediately in front of the meeting house, ie. the marae atea, must be kept clear when a group is to come onto the marae.
- Rubbish, papers and cigarette butts should not be left lying around on the marae.
- Alcohol is not permitted on or near the marae. Some marae apply this rule to all functions, including weddings. Others will permit alcohol for special occasions.
- Dress is generally informal, simple, neat and attractive at all times. Formal dress of suits for men or long skirts for ladies, is not essential although those who will whaikorero should wear a jacket. Most kaumatua and kuia will dress this way for the powhiri.
- While going onto the marae – no talking, no smoking, no gazing around and no eating.
- During mihi – sit quietly, don't let children run around.
- Some marae are not against smoking during long mihi. However, if in doubt – don't, and definitely don't if you are sitting in front.
- Shoes are not worn in the whare nui. These should be left on the verandah (neatly) or at night, taken in beside your luggage.
- Normally the left hand side of the whare, as you enter the door, is occupied by the tangata whenua, while manuhiri occupy the right hand side, including the rear and then positions left vacant by the tangata whenua on the left hand side starting from the rear of the house. For a powhiri, manuhiri kaikorero generally speak from the rear of the whare, facing the paepae which may be on the left of the doorway or in the centre front of the whare. For sleeping, the area nearest the front window, should be left for the most senior of the manuhiri group – opposite the most senior of the tangata whenua.
- Do not eat in the whare nui.
- Do not sit on the pillows.
- Do not step over people. It is particularly important for women not to step over any part of a male's body. Kick his legs aside if they are across the space for walking and he doesn't move them voluntarily.
- Avoid walking about while speeches are in progress, and don't walk in front of a speaker. If possible, move around between speeches.
- Baggage is taken into the whare after formalities, not before. Suitcases are kept in the space at the foot of the mattress – but don't block the space.
- Keep clothes in suitcases or neatly folded on top. Do not

hang things from the walls, unless special pegs are provided, and then only hang your clothes above your bedspace.

- Don't walk across the mattresses. Walk in the area between the beds.
- Discourage children from bouncing or jumping on bedding. No pillow fights.
- If ash trays are in evidence, generally this means smoking is accepted in the whare – otherwise go outside if you must smoke.
- Tidy mattresses and bedclothes neatly before going to breakfast.
- When called for a meal – go. Don't hang back; you are telling the cooks you're not keen on their food.
- Fill one table before sitting at another. Don't save seats for your friends. You are, after all, a whanau.
- Wait for grace to be said.
- Don't sit on tables.
- Don't 'loiter' at the table after a meal. Most ringa wera will not eat until the manuhiri have been fed and their dishes washed and tables cleared – and tables are not normally cleared until manuhiri have vacated the whare kai.
- If you want to help with dishes, potato peeling and such – help, don't dictate. And if you start a job, finish it, don't take off before you finish.
- Don't take photographs inside the whare or in the urupa without first asking permission. The same applies with using tape recorders for recording speakers.

What to take to a Marae

The marae will have mattresses, covered with one sheet. They will also have a pillow, with pillow case. You will therefore need to take :

- Sleeping bag or blankets
- An extra sheet if you require it
- Toilet gear and towel
- Night wear
- Shoes suitable for easy removal. Note that, if you wear your slippers outside, you do not keep these on while sitting on the bedding. Men should wear sox rather than bare feet.
- Casual clothing
- Warm jersey or cardigan. It can get cold outside at night.
- Sun hat
- If your marae welcome is in late afternoon, particularly in winter, take a warm rug or heavy coat to wrap around yourself during the mihi.
- An umbrella if weather looks doubtful.

Marae Organisation

Marae Committee

The marae may appear to be poorly organised. No one seems to be the boss all the time. No announcements are made and very few orders are given, except perhaps 'Haere mai ki te kai' Non-Maori are often amazed that so many people can be welcomed, fed and cared for with what appears to be, the minimum of fuss. Also, there always seems to be enough for everyone – enough food, enough time, enough consideration. Nothing seems to be too much trouble.

All of the values and protocols discussed previously play a major part in the functioning of the marae. However there are formal structures which help the marae to operate.

Every marae has a Marae Committee that functions like any other committee. There are the usual office holders and committee members. They may meet regularly, particularly if an activity or event is being planned, or they may meet irregularly. Their function is to maintain the physical aspects of the marae as well as maintaining the mana of the marae. They see to marae upkeep, and they ensure that visitors are well cared for. This is time consuming and, significantly, this work is purely voluntary. Most tangata whenua are motivated by their response to their own cultural values; their response to their own turangawaewae.

It is the Marae Committee who needs to be contacted if a marae visit is being contemplated. There are specific aspects of a marae that need to be understood prior to a visit. The reading of these notes is not sufficient, for they do not give specific detail of any one marae – of its traditions, its history, the names of the elders, of the whare nui, the tribe or details of its specific kawa. These need to be known by the group leaders – at the very least – prior to a visit, otherwise hosts may be quite unwittingly hurt and manuhiri embarrassed.

Hui Organisation

The marae is organised in such a way that the values are easily recognised and therefore easily put into practice. The marae creates an environment from which the values of whanaungatanga, aroha and manaaki emanate. Because of this, any work to be done is done. There are no rosters for the hundred and one tasks that need to be performed. Few people are asked to do a job. Anyone who sees that something needs doing, will do it automatically. People, particularly children, who will often shirk at doing certain tasks in their own homes, will perform these same tasks on a marae cheerfully and willingly. Some people go to the marae and do whatever needs doing while they are there; their contribution is valued. There

is no 'best time' for going to help; any time is a good time. Many people express their support of the marae just by being present. They go there to keep the marae warm. Their contribution is as valuable as that of the most experienced kaikorero.

Conclusion

People vary in their thinking, in their attitudes and in their habits. We do not 'gate crash' another's home. We generally like to know who people are before we visit them or participate in their activity. When on their turf, we generally respect their wishes or their way of doing things.

The marae is people. And Maori people are human like anyone else. A marae experience can be a unique experience that will not be easily put into words until a fuller understanding of the deeper aspects of wairua and tikanga have been acquired. This understanding comes only with continued, repeated participation. The marae is unique to New Zealand. It can become unique to all New Zealanders.

Some further basic Maori for Mihi

To draw attention :
Tihei mauri ora
Behold, the sneeze of life
Tena koutou, tena koutou
Greetings, greetings
Tena koutou katoa
Greetings to you all
Tuia i runga, tuia i raro
Bind it above, bind it below
Tuia i te herenga tangata
Bind it where people unite
Kokiri te manu
The bird sings
Takiri mai te ata
The morning breaks
Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea
It's dawn, it's light, it's daylight

To address manuhiri :
Nau mai, haere mai
Welcome, welcome
Haere mai ki runga ki tenei marae
Welcome to this marae
Mauria mai nga mate
Bring with you your dead
Kia tangihia, kia mihia
That they may be mourned and greeted

To conclude :
Tena koutou, tena koutou
Greetings, greetings
Tena koutou katoa
Greetings to you all
Kia ora huihui mai tatou
Greetings in our gathering
Kia ora tatou
May we all be well

To address people :
E nga mana
To the important ones
E nga reo
To the speakers
E nga iwi o te motu
To the people of the land
E nga waka
To the canoes
E nga karangaranga maha
To the many affiliations
Rau rangatira ma
Respected people
Aku rangatira tena koutou katoa
My elders, greetings to you all
Te marae e takoto nei tena koe
The marae that lies here, greetings

To address tangata whenua :
Karanga mai, mihi mai
Call to us, welcome us
Tena koutou e mihi nei ki te iwi
Thank you for your welcome
Te whare e tu nei, tena koe
The house that stands, greetings

Karakia

Grace

Whakaopaingia enei kai
Bless this food
Hei oranga mo o matou tinana
To our use
Ko Ihu Karaiti hoki
For Christ is
to matou kai whakaora
Our Saviour
Amine
Amen
E te Karaiti
O Lord
Whakapaingia enei kai
Bless this food
Hei oranga mo o matou tinana
For the sustenance of our bodies
Whangaia o matou wairua
Feed our souls
Ki te taro o te ora
With thy spiritual food
Nau nei hoki nga mea katoa
For all things are from you
Amine
Amen

The Lord's Prayer

E to matou Matua i te Rangi
Our Father who art in Heaven
Kai tapu tou ingoa
Hallowed be thy name
Kia tae mai tou Rangatiratanga
Thy kingdom come
Kia meatia tou e pai ai
They will be done
Ki runga i te whenua
On earth
Kia rite ano ki to te Rangi
As it is in Heaven
Homai ki a matou aianei
Give us this day
He taro ma matou mo tenei ra
Our daily bread
Murua o matou hara
And forgive us our trespasses
Me matou hoki e muru nei
As we forgive those
I o te hunga e hara ana ki a matou
Who trespass against us
Kaua hoki matou e kawea
Lead us not
Kia whakawaia
Into temptation
Engari whakaorangia matou
But deliver us
I te kino
From evil
Nou hoki te Rangatiratanga
For thine is the Kingdom
Te kaha me te kororia
The power and the glory
Ake tonu atu
For ever and ever
Amine
Amen

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Psalm 23

Ko Ihowa toku hepara; e kore ahau
e hapa.

The Lord is my shepherd I shall
not want.

Ko ia hei mea kia takoto ahau ki
nga wahi tarutaru hou : e arahi ana
ia i a au ki te taha o nga wai ata rere.

He maketh me to lie down in
in green pastures : He leadeth
me beside the still waters.

Ko ia hei whakahoki ake i toku wairua :
e arahi ana ia i au i nga ara
o te tika, he whakaaro ki tona ingoa.

He restoreth my soul :
He leadeth me in the paths of right-
eousness for His name's sake.

Ae, ahakoa haere ahau i te awaawa
o te atarangi o te mate, kahore he
kino e wehi ia ahau : no te mea kei
toku taha koe; ko to rakau, ko to
tokotoko, ko ena hei oranga ngakau maku

Yea, though I walk through the
valley of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil : for Thou
art with me : Thy rod and thy
staff they comfort me.

E taka ana e koe he tepu ki toku
aroaro i te tirohanga a oku hoa-riri,
e whakawahia ana e koe toku matenga
ki te hinu, purena tonu taku kapa.

Thou preparest a table before
me in the presence of mine
enemies : thou anointest my
head with oil; my cup runneth over.

He pono e aru ia au te pai me te
atawhai i nga ra katoa e ora ai ahau,
a ka noho ahau ki te whare o Ihowa ake tonu atu.

Surely goodness and mercy shall
follow me all the days of my
life and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

Prayer for the morning

E Ihowa tohungia matou. E toku
Lord, bless us. O my loving
Matua aroha i te Rangi, e
Heavenly Father, I thank you this
whakawhetai atua ana ahau ki a koe
morning for thy care over us
i tenei ata mo au manaakitanga i ahau
during the night, for peaceful sleep
i tenei po mo te pai o te moe, me te
and rest of the body and mind
okiokinga o nga tinana. He inoi atu
I beseech thee, O Heavenly Father,
ano tenei naku ki a koe, i tenei ata, e
to take care of us this day. Protect
Pa, kia manaakitia mai ano matou e
us from all harm and strengthen
koe i tenei ra. Tiakina matou kei
us lest we be led by temptation
pangia e nga hara o tenei ao. I tenei
May thy blessings be upon us all
ra, kia tau ou manaakitanga ki runga
this day, that thy name may be
i a matou, kia whakakororiatia
glorified throughout the world.
koe e te katoa. Ko Ihu Karaiti hoki
this we ask through Jesus Christ
toku Ariki, Amine
our Lord, Amen

Prayer for the evening

E te Matua aroha i te Rangi,
Our loving heavenly Father,
e whakawhetai atu ana matou ki a koe mo
we thank you for your care over us
au manaakitanga i tenei ra. E inoi atu
during this day. We seek your
ana matou ki a koe i tenei po, kia
blessings this night and ask your
tau tou rangimarie ki runga i te iwi.
protection over us all.
Tiakina ratou e mawiwi ana,
Bless those who are ill,
e taimaha ana; hoatu ki a ratou te taro o Tou oranga

those who are weary and burdened; fill them with you Holy Spirit
Hipokina mai matou ki tou korowai kia mohio ai matou ki tou aroha nui
Cover us with your peace that we may know your great love
Tenei matou e inoi nei i roto i te ingoa o Tou Tama a Ihu Karaiti,
This we ask in the name of Thy son Jesus Christ,
Amine.
Amen.

Benediction

Kia tau ki a tatou katoa, te atawhai o to tatou Ariki,
May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,
te aroha o te Atua me te whiwhingatahitanga ki te Wairua Tapu,
the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit,
ake tonu atu,
be with us for evermore
Amine.
Amen.

Some Popular Hymns

Tama Ngakau Marie

Tama ngakau marie	Son of peace
Tama a Te Atua	Son of God
Tenei tonu matou	Here are we always
Arohaina mai.	Shown compassion
Murua ra nga hara	Wipe away our sins
Wetekina ma	unshackle them
Enei here kino	these evil ties
Whakararu nei	that beset us.

E Te Ariki

E Te Ariki whakarongo	O Christ
mai ra kia matou	Listen to us
E Te Ariki	O Christ
Titiro mai ra kia matou	Look at us
Tenei matou o tamariki	We are your children who
E whakapono ana matou	believe in you
Kia koe	
Aue Aue	Aue Aue

Te Matua, Te Tamaiti	The Father, The Son and The
Wairua Tapu e	Holy Ghost
Te Matua, Te Tamaiti	The Father, The Son and The
Wairua Tapu e.	Holy Ghost.

Hangu te po (Silent Night)

Hangu te po	Silent night
Tapu te po	Holy night
Marino Marama	all is calm
Ko te whaea	all is bright
Me te Tama	Round yon Virgin mother
Tama tino Tapu rawa	and child
Moe mai i te marie	Holy infant so tender and mild
Moe mai i te marie.	Sleep in heavenly peace
	Sleep in heavenly peace.

Some Popular Songs

Tena Koutou

Tena koutou e hoa ma	Greetings (to many) friends
Kua tae mai nei	You have arrived here today
I tenei wa	at this place, this evening
no reira ra, e hoa ma,	Therefore friends,
Kia ora ra, koutou katoa	Greetings to you all.
Kua rongo hoki ahau, (3)	I had heard some time ago
Kei te haere mai koutou	That you were coming
No reira ra e hoa ma,	Therefore friends
Kia ora ra, koutou katoa	Greetings to you all.

Karangatia Ra

Karangatia ra	Call
Karangatia ra	Call
Powhiritia ra	Welcome
Nga iwi o te motu	the tribes of the island
Ki runga o Poneke	onto Poneke
Haere ma	Welcome
He hui aroha	a gathering of love
mo koutou e nga iwi	for all of you people
Ngau nei te aroha	The feeling gnaws within
Me te mamae	and the pain.

E Taku Ripene Pai

E taku ripene pai	May gay ribbon
E kakapa haere atu ra	fluttering so
Hei aha	No matter
I aku tau whakahingahinga	My fickle admirers
Ka tukua te mania	forever backsliding
Ka tiawhe te ue nawa	like canoes turning this way and that way
Auahi ki te aha	to what purpose
Takiri takiri takiri aue	
Takiri takiri takiri aue hei	
Takiri takiri takiri aue	If your enmity be so great
Takiri takiri takiri aue hei	Come then let it cease forthwith
Ki te nui to pukuriri	No matter
Tikina mai tapahia	Should there be no beckoning head
Hei aha	from the young men because of disinterest
Kia kore he pane tungou atu	to what purpose
Ki a taitama ue nawa	
Auahi ki te aha	
Takiri takiri takiri aue	
Takiri takiri takiri aue hei	
Takiri takiri takiri aue	
Takiri takiri takiri aue hei.	

Rona (E)

Takoto ana ahau	I lie
I te moenga urirui	in the darkened bed
Tu ake au	When I arise (and)
titiro ki te atarau	look at the moonlight
Kei hea ra?	Where can it be?
te marama e whiti ana	the risen moon.
Kei hea a rona?	Where is Rona?
Kei runga ra	Up aloft
Piri ki te taha	Holding the calabash
Piri ki te Ngaio	holding the Ngaio (tree)

Aue ra e Rona e	Alas Rona
Aue ra	Alas
– Repeat the song with the last line sung as Aue ra hei.	– Repeat the song with the last line sung as Alas hei.

Utaina

Utaina mai nga waka	All aboard the canoes
Nga waka o te motu	the canoes of the island
Toia mai ra ki uta	Drag them landwards
Ki te takotoranga	to the place where they will lie
A hiki nuku hiki e	(the canoes) move earthwards
Hiki rangi runga e	(down)
Tena tena ra koutou katoa	(The canoes) move skywards (up) Then, greetings to you all.

E Te Hokowhitu A Tu

E te hokowhitu a Tu	The brave band of Tu
Kia kaha ra	be strong
Kati ra te hingahinga	do not (let yourselves) be
Ki raro ra	struck down
Ma nga whakaaro	let (your) thoughts be
Kei runga rawa	always heavenwards
Hei arahi ki te ara	to guide you along the path
E tika ai	that is the proper one
Whirinaki, whirinaki	depend, depend
Tatou katoa	each on on the other
Kia kotahi ra	and unite.
Nga marae e tu noa nei	Lonely stands our marae
Nga maunga e tu noa nei	Lonely stands our mountains
Aue ra e tama ma	Ah! to you our sons
Te mamae te pouri nui	the pain and the deep sadness
E patu nei i ahau ina	beating within me so.
Ngarimu aue	

Anei to iwi e	here is your tribe
E Tangi nei	lamenting (your loss).
Ngarimu loved one	

Ehara I Te Mea

Ehara i te mea	Do not believe
No naianei te aroha	that love is new, a thing of today
No nga tupuna	It emanated from the ancestors
Tuku iho, tuku iho	who bequeathed it,
	who bequeathed it.

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